1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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193 194 The place of the accent is strictly determined by the structure and etymology of compound words. In words composed of a noun and an adjective, the accent is placed on the adjective; thus *dí*+*ki-bí'*, large water, *i. e.*, river; *ekí-ke*+*tyng'*, large substance, *i. e.*, stout; *sa-wí'*+*juk*, cotton substance or raw cotton. This applies equally to the emphasis in a similar phrase like *pĭ how'-ré*, other, or different people. When the word is composed of an adjective or adverb, with a verb, the accent goes with the verb; thus, *I-shuñ*+*pu'*, to spread; *I-wo*+*tu'*, to shut. When composed of a noun and a verb, it follows the same rule; thus, *bĕ-ta*+*on'-ta*, the remainder (*i. e.*, the end stays or remains). When composed of two nouns, one in an adjective sense, the accent is on the qualifying noun, like *mo'*+*wo*, navel; *du'*+*ku*, nest or bird-house; *tsu'*+*di-o*, milk or teat-juice; *tsu'*+*wo*, a woman's breast; *tsu-wo'*+*bĕ-ta*, nipple. This rule is almost universal in Bri-bri, and obtains generally in the other languages; the greatest number of exceptions being in Terraba.

193 In the simplest sentence, the nominative begins, followed by the object, and the verb comes last. When a noun is qualified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun. In the same way the adverb follows the verb; and the verb closes the sentence, unless it is accompanied by an adverb, or adverbial phrase. In case there are, in addition to the nominative, object, and verb, another noun, governed by a preposition, these latter close the sentence. I strike you; *je be pu, I thou strike.* I strike you hard; *je be pu dĕrere.* The strong man chops the wood well; *wewi dĕrere kar tu boi.* Will you go with me?; *be mia je-ta*, thou go I with. *Ta*, *wa*, and *weñ* (see notes on the nouns) are always added as suffixes to the nouns or pronouns which they qualify, and form a sort of ablative case. But where *weñ* is used in the sense of "where is," it begins the sentence. Whose hat (is this)? *jí sombreno?* Mine; *je'-cha.* How many people are there in your house? *pe bil tsosi be ku-weñ?* people how many are thy house-where? Where is he? *weñ ye 'tso?* where he is? He remained in the middle of the road; *ye onte nyoro shong*, he remained road middle. Give me a chair (or bench), *krŭ-wa' mu'-nya;* chair give me. Give him, *mu'-ya.* Reach me my hat; *je sombreno be ura reska*, my hat thou hand reach. Heat the water; *dí ba-wng*, water make hot. The water is hot; *dí be ba-na*, water warm heated (is). Put out the fire; *bowo wo-tu'*, fire extinguish (or close). The fire went out; *bowo i-to'-wa.* Shut the door; *ku ĭkku wo-tu'*, house door shut. Unfasten the door; *ku ĭkku wo-jet'-wa.* Open the door; *ku ĭkku wo-ku'-wa.* Where is my knife? *weñ je tabe?* where my knife (*et so*, to be, understood)? Your knife is there; *be tabe tsosi diyu*, thy knife is there. Give me my knife; *je tabe munya*, my knife give. My knife is very sharp; *je tabe akata boi*, my knife toothed good. Go shoot a bird, or go shoot birds; *be ju du tu*, thou go bird shoot. What with? *i-wa?* With a gun; *mokkur wa*, gun with. What kind of a gun? *mokkur ia?* gun what kind? Our country gun (blow-gun); *se konaka mokkur*, own country gun. There are no balls (the clay balls or pellets); *mokkur wo ke ku*, gun round (things) no more

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Tiribi *zhgu-ring'* and the Terraba *zhu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-wo-hor'-kn* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *ji'-krs* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones.

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" " (standing)	shou'-kwe.
" " (going)	hor-shou-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dë-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dë-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ba*, *i*, and *ja*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

Chapter III.

Vocabulary of the Language of the Bri-bri Indians.

[Note.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; 104
ë is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the 128
sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñg* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* 194
in the German *loch*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ni'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, ear.

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

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cent sometimes changing the sense of the word entirely like *i-juk'* to drink, *i'-juk* earth, soil.]

to ache	i-dē-ll'-na	See *pain*.
to adhere	i-lu'-tsu-wa	See *against*.
afraid	sū-wa'-na	
afterwards	e'-wa	Not *i'-wa*, interrogative, "what with."
again	i-sū-ka'	See *also*.
against	i-bē-tsu'-wa	See *to adhere*.
ago	er'-a-ja	Immediately past time.
	en-i-al',	Hours ago; this morning.
	nyo-nyo'-ni	Very long ago; days, months, years.
to agree	i-shun'-lu	See *to arrange*.
	nyi'+wo-yu	*Nyi*, together.
to aim	i-shun'-sa-u	
air	kong'+shu-wang	*Kong*, see country; *shu-wang*, from *si-wang'*, wind.
alike	nyi+ke'	*Nyi*, together.
	nyi+kitsei'	Exactly alike; *tsei*, much, applied to words or two people speaking alike.
alive	tse'-ka	See *awake*.
all	song	
	o-ri-to-ne'	
alligator	to-rok'	
alone	o'-kur	*Ki* (*ei*) one.
	e'mi	Used in the sense of *only*.
alongside	i-yaw'-mik	
already	ju-bak'	
also	i-sū-ka'	See *again*.
always	shu-ar'-i-a	
angle	bē-ta'	A point; the angle of a surface or the corner angle of a solid.
	si-chi'-a	The angle of a prism; see *square*.
angry	o-ru'-na	
ankle	o-ru-bo'	
ant,	tsa'+wak	*Wak*, people, tribe, *Myrmecophaga jubata*.
ant-eater	u-ri'	*Tamandua 4 dactyla*; *te*, a forest clearing; from its being often found in such places.
	te'+u-ri	

184 197 [533] in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to non-material culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 104 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą ilɔ*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ɔ is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, į, ǫ, ų, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1894

• 194 š, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of š, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico have a like consonant. [197]

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta*.

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

š is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example: [192]

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dəwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jəwá* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dəwe* (sickness); *jəwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.
[83] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.
[84] Pozas, N.D.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, á, é, ę, ę́, o, i, í, o, u, ú, ų, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, kə, kó, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ųk, še.

In Cabécar, possesaive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[224]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental phonemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

> The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except į, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ią, ąj, ąi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ųą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrençe in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred or curing chants of the *jainé*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba (Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[224] Jones, 1959.